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Abstract

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Not only did the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 signal the beginning of the end of the Cold War, it also signaled the end of a convenient news frame for international news reported by U.S. media.

This study compares Cold War and post-Cold War international news coverage in two newspapers: the *New York Times*, an elite newspaper that has its own international news bureaus, and the *Arizona Republic*, a typical U.S. metropolitan daily without a foreign reporting staff. A content analysis of 1,083 international news articles from two composite weeks for both publications in 1977 (Cold War) and 1997 (post-Cold War) provided data that revealed an overall reduction in international news articles published in both newspapers during the post-Cold War study period. Research data indicated a 26.5% drop in international news articles published in the *New York Times* from the 1977 to the 1997 study periods and a decrease of 20.3% in the *Arizona Republic* for the same timeframe.

The study also found that the average length of *New York Times* international news articles increased 28% from 9.98 paragraphs in 1977 to 13.94 paragraphs in 1997. Conversely, study data revealed that the *Arizona Republic* reduced its average international news article length by 27% in the post-Cold War study period. The study also suggests that the percentage of four-paragraph-or-less international articles climbed from 11% to 52% in the post-Cold War period.

Study data revealed noteworthy changes in where both publications placed

international articles from the Cold War to the post-Cold War study periods. The *New York Times* placed 25% less international articles on its front page in the post-Cold War study period, while the *Arizona Republic* saw a 50% reduction in front page placement of international news in the post-Cold War period. Also, the study indicated that *New York Times* experienced a 17% increase in the portion of international articles appearing in its business section in the post-Cold War period.

Although the data indicated noteworthy changes in the number, length and placement of international news articles in the post-Cold War period, geopolitical focus (First, Second and Third World) remained virtually unchanged in both publications. Third World-related articles dominated both study periods, followed by First World- and Second World-related articles in that order. The researcher expected to reveal a reduction in Second World articles in the post-Cold War period, however, increased interest in China, and Bosnia-Herzegovina may account, at least in part, for the unchanged post-Cold War coverage of Second World news.

Overall, data gathered in this study reinforce current literature indicating that Americans may be receiving less international news than they did during the Cold War. In addition, the data also suggests that the newspapers examined in this study may be placing less emphasis on international news by shifting its placement away from the front page and deeper into the publications.

THE END OF THE COLD WAR:
ITS IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL NEWS COVERAGE
IN TWO U.S. NEWSPAPERS

by
William R. Harrison

An Applied Project Presented in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Mass Communication

ARIZONA STATE UNIVERSITY
WALTER CRONKITE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND
TELECOMMUNICATION

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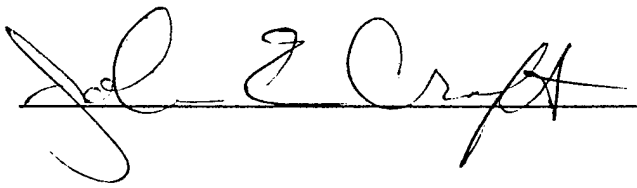

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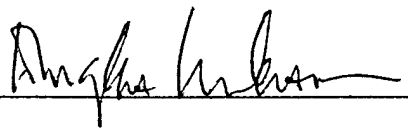

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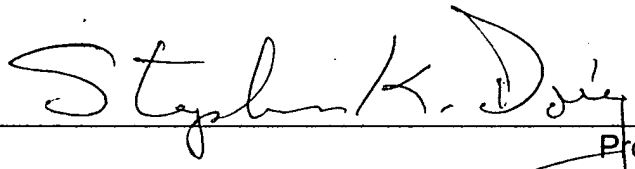

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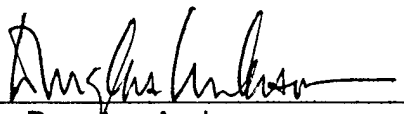

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Chapter I

STUDY INTRODUCTION

Background

Shortly after the end of World War II, Western Europe receded as the center of world power, clearing a path for the United States and the Soviet Union to emerge as the world's bi-polar superpowers. This relationship, characterized by "confrontation, hostility and mutual suspicion," (Liebovich, 1988, p. 1) became known as the Cold War and lasted more than 40 years at various levels of intensity. But by 1990, communist authority had collapsed in the Soviet Union, and suddenly, the Cold War was over.

Two years later, in 1992, the researcher participated in one of the first of a series of post-Cold War military-to-military exchanges between the United States and Russia. Accompanying two B-52 strategic bombers and their crews to the former Soviet Union, the researcher served as the Air Force media relations officer for the visit.

The visit marked the first time a U.S. military nuclear-capable long-range bomber was ever put on public display in Russia. Huge crowds gathered wherever the group of American servicemen visited -- in fact, school teachers complained that children were missing school for an opportunity to see the American airmen. Russian civilians and military members alike greeted their former Cold War

adversaries as if they were long lost friends, often making reference to the World War II alliance formed by the Soviet Union and United States nearly fifty years earlier.

This event probably would have received front-page international news coverage if it had occurred during the Cold War, but without a Cold War frame, the U.S. media showed lukewarm interest at best, giving the story little more than news brief-size mention in U.S. newspapers. On the contrary, Russian media took great interest in the event, and dedicated a sizable group of newspaper and television reporters to cover the visit. But their questions quickly turned away from Cold War-related issues when they discovered a woman U.S. Air Force refueling tanker pilot in the visiting group. Because of the very limited role women are allowed to play in the Russian military, the Russian media immediately made this discovery the focus of their coverage and created a somewhat reluctant celebrity in the process. It was an angle they couldn't resist, especially with National Women's Day occurring in Russia during the visit. With nine years of experience as a military journalist and media relations officer, the researcher was caught by surprise with the way the post-Cold War Western media virtually ignored this historic military-to-military exchange.

Some mass media scholars believe the Cold War provided news-gathering organizations in the United States with a convenient way to frame much of the international news they reported to the American public (Seib, 1997). According to Norris (1995, p. 357), "The theory of framing suggests that journalists commonly work with news frames to simplify, prioritize and structure the narrative flow of events." The Cold War may have provided such a frame for reporting international news to the American public. "The Cold War is a concept epitomizing the ideological rivalry between the Soviet Union and the United States, between communism and capitalism," (Raymond, 1992). "It thus has to deal with the process of the production and meaning of ideas," (Wang, 1995, p. 228).

The relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War's forty-year history was anything but stable. Ranging from outward hostility in the 1950s and 1960s to the cooperative era of "Détente" in the 1970s, and finally the partnership building "Glasnost" and "Perestroika" of the 1980s. But despite the various levels of hostility and cooperation, the Cold War appears to have provided journalists with a constant frame for international news. "For many decades the Cold War frame provided a clear and simple way for American reporters to select, structure and prioritize complex news about international affairs.

The Cold War frame cued journalists and viewers about friends and enemies throughout the world," (Norris, 1995, p. 359).

As suddenly as the Cold War began at the end of World War II, the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 signaled the beginning of the end of the Cold War. "With incredible suddenness, the pressure was off...America's national interests would have to be redefined and with the threat of global nuclear war greatly reduced, at least for the moment, policymakers, their critics and those who covered them enjoyed new flexibility," (Seib, 1997, p. 124). Media coverage of international issues no longer had a Cold War frame, and journalists were suddenly faced with re-examining their international news choices.

Statement of the Problem

After more than 40 years of providing a news frame for many international events, the Cold War is over. "The Cold War was dangerous, wasteful, obsessive, and at times irrational...yet at least we could define what the Cold War was ostensibly about," (Steel, 1995, p. 7).

But, we no longer have the Cold War world order that securely defined our enemies and allies, and U.S. newspapers no longer have a Cold War news frame for reporting

international events. This creates an opportunity for placing less emphasis on foreign news coverage because "The framework on which coverage decisions rested had become obsolete," (Seib, 1997, p. 124).

The overall research question for this study is: What impact did the end of the Cold War have on international news reported in U.S. newspapers? The sub-questions are 1) Has the amount of international news coverage in U.S. newspapers changed since the Cold War ended?, 2) Has the length of U.S. newspapers' international news items changed in the post-Cold War period?, 3) Has the placement of international news articles in U.S. newspapers changed since the end of the Cold War? and 4) Have U.S. newspapers changed their focus on geopolitical regions (First Second, and Third World) since the Cold War ended?

Theoretical Framework

In 1922, Walter Lippmann introduced the world to the concept of media agenda setting in his book, *Public Opinion*. Although he didn't coin the term "agenda setting", Lippmann (1922) referred to "the pictures in our heads" that media create, implying the media do indeed influence what people think about. "We shall assume that what each man does is

based not on direct and certain knowledge, but on pictures made by himself or given to him," (Lippmann, 1922, p. 25).

Since Lippmann's observation more than 75 years ago, the agenda-setting function of the media has been examined and reinforced by mass media scholars who have mainly studied political campaign coverage in newspapers and on television. In one such study, Roberts (1992), predicted that political advertising in newspapers and on television would impact voters' views regarding which campaign issues were important. The findings of the study suggested that not only did the mass media tell voters what issues to think about, but also impacted their actions at the polls. "From transfer of media salience to the public mind, then from public salience to behavioral outcome," is how Roberts (1992, p. 878) describes the two-step process of agenda setting by the media.

Because "agenda-setting literature conforms to the belief that prominence in the media leads to some form of salience in the public mind," (Roberts, 1992, p. 879), the dominance of coverage of local and national news coverage could affect public interest in international issues. Clearly, a reduction in foreign news coverage is a form of setting the public's agenda, not only regarding what to think about -- local and national issues -- but also what not to think about --international issues.

Based on the writings of William Ernest Hocking (1947), the Social Responsibility Model, which describes 20th century American media, was introduced in *The Four Theories of the Press*, (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm; 1956) along with three other theoretical press models: Authoritarian, Libertarian, and Soviet-Totalitarian.

The theorists suggest that social responsibility should manifest itself in all levels of editorial decision-making, and "is imperative to protect the citizen's right to adequate information," (Siebert et al., 1956 p. 101). This can be interpreted as meaning that the media are responsible for presenting balanced coverage of all significant events and issues that occur throughout the world. In fact, news happening in other parts of the world is even less accessible to the average American, who relies almost exclusively on the news media for this type of information.

At the other end of the spectrum of the four press theories is the Soviet-Totalitarian model. This now defunct model was unique to the Soviet media before and during the Cold War, and was born out of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist thought. According to Siebert et al. (1956, p. 7), the purpose of this model was "to contribute to the success and continuance of the Soviet socialist system, and especially to the dictatorship of the party." In addition, the Soviet-

Totalitarian model called for state ownership and close control of the press as an arm of the government.

Study Significance

Many scholars believe that the end of the Cold War had a significant impact on how Americans define the world. According to Steel (1995), the Cold War provided us with a mission and a sense of duty to protect our way of life from Communist expansionism. "During the Cold War we had a vocation; now we have none. Once we had a powerful enemy; now it is gone...Once we used to know how to define our place in the world and what our interests were; now we have no idea," (Steel, 1995, p. 1).

This study attempts to compare how two newspapers present international news to the American public during, and nearly a decade after the Cold War.

Although there have been numerous studies conducted over the past 25 years regarding international new coverage by U.S. media, most research has focused on network television (Gonzenbach, Arant & Stevenson, 1992; Norris, 1995) or elite newspapers (Riffe, Aust, Jones, Shoemaker & Sundar, 1994; Hanson, 1995) and have not specifically compared Cold War and post-Cold War coverage. This study not only examines an elite newspaper, the *New York Times*, but also a smaller metropolitan daily, the *Arizona Republic*.

This provides an opportunity to compare an elite newspaper with its own international reporting staff, to one much like many metropolitan dailies in the United States that relies almost completely on news wire services for foreign news articles.

Overall, this pilot study should provide data that indicates not only changes in international coverage in two newspapers during two study periods, but also a comparison of the amount of international coverage and geopolitical focus during and after the Cold War.

Chapter II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical/Political Perspective

Since 1917, when Czar Nicolai II abdicated the Russian throne in lieu of the Lenin-led Bolshevik Revolution, distinct political and ideological differences between the United States and the Soviet Union have existed. Over the years these differences have contributed to a shifting relationship of guarded cooperation to bitter rivalry. Joseph Stalin's totalitarian rule of the Soviet Union "presented an insurmountable obstacle to friendly relations" that kept the United States from establishing diplomatic ties with the Soviets until 1933 (Library of Congress, 1993, p. 1).

This relationship of mistrust and hostility between the two countries was briefly interrupted in June 1941 when Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union. An instant alliance between the United States and Soviet Union was created, and within three months, the United States began assisting the Soviet Union through its Lend-Lease Act of 1941. By the end of World War II, the United States had provided nearly $11 billion in war material to the Soviets (Library of Congress, 1993). But this alliance would soon transform back to the

former adversarial relationship that had existed before the war.

Shortly after the end of the war, Western Europe, war-torn and divided, receded as the center of world power, making way for the United States and the Soviet Union to emerge as the world's super powers. Despite their World War II alliance and mutual cooperation to defeat Hitler, the Soviet Union's "aggressive, anti-democratic policy toward Eastern Europe" began to renew old tensions (Library of Congress, 1993, p. 1). The relationship between these wartime allies quickly deteriorated back to the pre-war conditions of "confrontation, hostility, and mutual suspicion," (Liebovich, 1988, p. 1) which continued for more than 40 years. World War II proved to be a short respite from the usual tense relationship between the two countries. "The United States and the Soviet Union had little in common prior to the war - indeed much had divided them - and from a long perspective, the alliance was an aberration in their relations," (Crockatt, 1995, p. 46).

According to Liebovich (1988), the Cold War's beginning can be traced to the Yalta Conference held in February 1945 at the former palace of Czar Nicholas on the Crimean southern shore of the Black Sea. Although it was a meeting of the three most powerful heads of state at the time -- Roosevelt, Stalin, and Churchill -- the news media were

banned from covering the conference. During the eight days of Yalta, the three world leaders tried to hammer out a format for coexistence, and when it was over, they distributed a joint communiqué to the media which outlined the basic points of the meeting. Initial news reports of the conference were positive, but eventually the U.S. media began to turn on Roosevelt, even going so far as to suggest he'd been "duped" by Stalin (Liebovich, 1988). Post-Yalta media coverage established the framework for what was described as "bitter anticommunist feelings in the United States in the late 1940s and early 1950s, and even later," (Liebovich, 1988, p. 1), setting the stage for a Cold War news frame by the U.S. media.

The estrangement between the United States and Soviet Union intensified in 1946 when Stalin asserted that World War II was a consequence of "capitalist imperialism" and suggested that another war like it might occur again (Library of Congress, 1993). That same year, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill warned that an "Iron Curtain" was descending between Eastern and Western Europe.

In addition to the obvious political differences between the two nations, the development and use of the atomic bomb by the United States during World War II proved to be an important contributor to the growth of the Cold War. The United States' monopoly of atomic weapons from

1945 to 1947 was seen by some as a trump card in negotiating with the Soviets. "Furthermore, it seems clear that the Americans hoped the demonstration of the bomb's power in bringing about the defeat of Japan might incline the Soviet Union to be more compliant in negotiations over political and territorial issues," (Crockatt, 1995, p. 55). Instead, the atomic bomb exerted no "...discernible influence on Soviet behaviour beyond inclining them to move as quickly as they could to develop their own atomic weapons," (Crockatt, 1995, p. 141). Thus the stage was set for a nuclear arms race between the two nations that would last throughout the Cold War at various levels of intensity.

In 1950, when the Soviet puppet state, North Korea, rolled tanks and troops across the border of South Korea, an American protectorate, the Cold War entered a new phase, "...and closed the books on the era of attempts at Soviet-American cooperation in the immediate aftermath of Hitler's defeat," (Weisberger, 1984, p. 103). Under United Nations authorization Truman committed U.S. military forces to try and quell the invasion. This shift to armed combat less than five years after World War II, "... had deep and long-lasting psychological repercussions," on Soviet-American relations. It took three years and 33,000 American lives before the war ended with mutual withdrawal and the

establishment of a demilitarized zone between North and South Korea.

In May of 1960, just ten days before a planned Summit meeting between the United States and Soviet Union leaders in Paris, another significant Cold War event drove a wedge into the relationship of the two super powers. This time it involved the violation of Soviet air space by an American U-2 reconnaissance aircraft, piloted by CIA employee Gary Francis Powers. Shot down over central Russia, Powers was able to bail out of the aircraft and parachute safely to the ground, where he was taken into custody by Soviet authorities. "Five days later, Nikita Krushchev went on the air from Moscow. In mock distress he reported 'aggressive acts' by the United States...," (Weisberger, 1984, p. 194). When the United States tried to explain away the U-2 mission as a NASA weather reconnaissance flight, Krushchev then produced equipment recovered form the aircraft and a full confession from Powers. "Though Krushchev came to Paris for the conference, he made an apology by Eisenhower a condition of attending it, and, when none was forthcoming, went home again," (Balfour, 1981 p. 184). Eisenhower did however agree to stop all U-2 flyovers of the Soviet Union, but the damage was done, and a brief "springtime of the spirit of Camp David" had ended, (Weisberger, 1984, p. 196).

The Cuban missile crisis of October 1962 was probably the most significant Cold War event involving the arms race. When U.S. intelligence determined that the Soviets were placing offensive nuclear weapons in Cuba, President John Kennedy ordered the U.S. Navy to quarantine Soviet ships headed for Cuba, to stem the flow of nuclear warheads into the country. The president also issued a stern ultimatum to Soviet president Nikita Krushchev and Cuban leader Fidel Castro to stop their military build-up (Seib, 1997). Even though Krushchev backed down, Kennedy asked the national media not to call it a victory for the United States, for fear that it would humiliate and anger Krushchev into changing his mind (Seib, 1997).

In 1965 the Cold War entered into an eight-year period of formal treaties that became commonly known as "détente." "It emerged out of the competitive nature of superpower relations, and competition remained a feature of those relations even as détente took root," (Crockatt, 1995, p. 207). Faced with the threat of an emerging Chinese nuclear force, the Soviet nuclear arsenal had grown significantly by the latter part of the 1960s. Meanwhile, the United States' nuclear arsenal had stagnated during the country's involvement in the Vietnam War. "In short, rough nuclear parity between the superpowers inclined the United States to acknowledge the Soviet Union's status as a military

superpower, while it encouraged the Soviet Union to believe that it was now possible to bargain from a position of strength," (Crockatt, 1975, p. 216). Arms control talks between the two countries began in 1959, but it wasn't until 1972 that Richard Nixon was able to hammer out the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT) with Soviet leadership. Ratified a year later by Congress, SALT "...did not change the fact that the United States and the U.S.S.R. still had enough warheads aimed at each other to uncap an inferno far beyond human imagination. But a symbolic step had been taken," (Weisberger, 1984, p. 270).

The Vietnam War was also an important influence on the Cold War and the continuation of détente (Crockatt, 1975). Vietnam's negative impact on the American economy and the influential role of Soviet military support to North Vietnam were among the factors that forced Presidents Johnson and Nixon to pursue détente with the Soviets. But by the end of the war and the Watergate demise of Richard Nixon, détente had begun to falter. By 1979, when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, tensions between the United States and Soviet Union were renewed (Library of Congress, 1994).

Another event that reinforced Soviet-American Cold War tensions was the defection of Joseph Stalin's daughter, Svetlana Alliluyeva to the United States in 1963. Describing the Russia she left behind and reinforcing anti-

communist sentiments in the United States, she wrote: "Let it be left to new people to whom these years in Russia will be as remote and inexplicable, as terrible and strange, as the reign of Ivan the Terrible. But I do not think they'll call our era a 'progressive' one, or that they'll say it was for the good of Russia. Hardly...," (Alliluyeva, 1967, p. 235).

In the early 1980s, the Cold War had reached its final phase, referred to by Crockatt (1995, p. 299) as the "denouement" of the Cold War. Ronald Reagan's strong anti-communist stance intensified the post-détente Cold War. "Reagan came into office with two firm convictions: firstly, that détente, particularly under Carter, had been a sorry tale of U.S. surrender to Soviet pressure, and secondly, that the Soviet threat was global," (Crockatt, 1975, p. 305). But by 1985 a new détente was emerging as Reagan proved to be somewhat more flexible than his rhetoric indicated. "Negotiation...from a position of strength," was the approach taken by the Reagan administration as it negotiated agreements like the Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), (Crockatt, 1995, p. 307).

When Mikhail Gorbachev assumed power in 1985, it was the beginning of the end of the both the Soviet Union and the Cold War. Gorbachev's introduction of "Perestroika" and

"Glasnost" led to dramatic democratic changes and the eventual collapse of the Communist system in the Soviet Union, (Library of Congress, 1993).

Scholars have attempted to pinpoint the cause of the Cold War, and according to Lundestad (1997), the literature presents several different schools of explanation that are divided into two basic categories: 1) traditionalist and 2) revisionist. Lundestad (1997) says the traditionalist school, which reigned supreme for many years "pinned the blame very directly and very strongly on the Soviet Union." Essentially, the traditionalists viewed the Cold War as Soviet action and Western reaction - the Soviets invaded Eastern Europe and the United States established policies to contain communist expansion. "Those who place the major responsibility for the Cold War on the Soviet Union argue that Stalin, as dictator and leader of a totalitarian system, easily could have moderated the nation's interest to meet U.S. objectives and ensure peace," (Gormly, 1990, p. 220). Perhaps former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, George Kennan, summed up the containment approach best in an article he wrote anonymously for *Foreign Affairs* magazine in 1947. He stated that Soviet foreign policy moved "along a prescribed path, like a persistent toy automobile, wound up and headed in a given direction,

stopping only when it meets some unanswerable source," (Gormly, 1990, p. 221).

On the other hand, the revisionists, who launched their interpretation in the mid-1960s, believed the Cold War was caused directly by the United States' economic and military supremacy, which was viewed as an active threat to communism (Lundestad, 1997). According to Gormly (1990), "Still others credit U.S. actions to a general arrogance of power that translated the country's tremendous economic and military strength and accomplishments into a moral, ideological superiority." The revisionists were convinced that the Soviets were forced to react to imperialist expansionism - and therefore appeared to be the aggressors when they were merely protecting their own interests.

Still others believe the Cold War wasn't caused exclusively by the United States or the Soviet Union. "Given the situation, the belief that U.S. actions divided the world into two camps and necessitated a rapid Sovietization of Easter Europe seems as logical as the view that Russian expansionism forced the United States to institute its containment policy," (Gormly, 1990, p. 223). But regardless of which side is to blame for the Cold War, one thing is certain: for more than 40 years it exerted tremendous influence on world affairs, as it shifted through

various levels of conflict and cooperation between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Theoretical Perspectives

Agenda-Setting

For more than 75 years, the agenda-setting function of the media has been examined by mass media researchers though agenda-setting studies of newspapers and television news. In 1922, Lippmann introduced the world to the concept of media agenda setting in his book, *Public Opinion*. Although the actual term "agenda setting" wouldn't be used until half a century later, Lippmann (1922) referred to "the pictures in our heads" created by the media. This marked the beginning of scholarly investigation into the possibility that media directly influence what we think about. "We shall assume that what each man does is based not on direct and certain knowledge, but on pictures made by himself or given to him," (Lippmann, 1922, p. 25).

The term "agenda-setting" was established in a 1972 study by McCombs and Shaw which "...tested the basic agenda-setting hypothesis that the pattern of news coverage influences public perception of what are the important issues of the day," (p. 815). In this study, which used content analysis and interviews regarding the 1968 presidential campaign, the researchers found a high

correlation between issues considered important by the media and by the voters. However they also found a low correlation between what the media and the public considered newsworthy, thus indicating the possibility of media agenda setting.

According to Carter Stamm & Heintz-Knowles (1992), there are two contrasting theoretical traditions in mass communications relating to agenda-setting theory. "The 'gatekeeper' view sees the media as highly selective observers of the world's events..." resulting in "... an incomplete, sometimes biased audience sense of reality," (p. 869). On the other hand, the "surveillance" view "sees the media as public agents of the audience as members of society. The public's need to know about common problems and possible solutions dictate both what the media pay attention to and what their audiences pay attention to. Hence the relevance of functional and normative concerns," (p. 869).

But, according to the researchers, "In both views, the media can be expected to pay attention to things that make a difference and/or to things with which differences can be made, that is, to things of consequence," (p. 869).

In their study, Carter et al. (1992) used a new research method called cognigraphics to show which topics the public believes should be moved up or down the priority list of public issues. The technique combined Freud's word

association technique with PIX, a form of ideational mechanics, which requires respondents to describe the ideational relationship between the topic and word associate using six illustrated options. "The respondents were asked to give the first word that comes to mind for each topic: then they were asked to describe the (ideational) relationship between topic and word associate...," (Carter et al., 1992, p. 871). Not surprisingly, respondents to this post-Cold War study indicated the need to move the issue of nuclear war down on the priority list because it was no longer considered a problem.

Another 1992 study, conducted by Salwen and Matera, looked specifically at the relationship between media mentions of specific foreign nations and reader/viewer learning. They combined a telephone survey of 629 residents in Dade County, Florida, and a content analysis of foreign nations reported in the major print and broadcast media available in Dade County. The study found that respondents ranked the USSR as the United States' number one enemy (N=177) followed by Iran (N=125) and Cuba (N=96). The respondents also indicated that the USSR received the most media coverage (N=149), followed by Israel (N=89) and Nicaragua (N=80). "The cumulative correlation's over time suggested that the amount of news media coverage devoted to various nations had its greatest effect on public

assessments of the amount of coverage given to nations by the news media," (Salwen & Matera, 1992, p. 631). Overall, the study found evidence that media coverage of foreign nations impacts public assessment of those nations as dangerous places to live. However, there wasn't evidence of a correlation between media coverage and public perception of foreign nations as friends or enemies of the United States. "Public evaluations of foreign nations as friends or enemies may be relatively enduring. This finding would appear to add credence to the agenda-setting researchers' repeated assertions that the media may influence what the public think about (cognitions), but not what the public thinks (attitudes)," (Salwen & Matera, 1992, p. 631).

In his agenda-setting study, Roberts (1992), predicted that political advertising in newspapers and on television would impact voters' views regarding which campaign issues were important. The findings of the study suggested that not only did the mass media tell voters what issues to think about, but also impacted their actions at the polls. "From transfer of media salience to the public mind, then from public salience to behavioral outcome" is how Roberts (1992, p. 878) describes the two-step process of agenda setting by the media.

In their 1996 study, Brewer and McCombs examined a Texas newspaper that proposed eight public issues affecting

children for the community agenda at the beginning of the year. Through a content analysis of the paper over the course of the subsequent year, and a comparison of the city's budget before and after the newspaper campaign, major increases in funding for children's programs were observed. While earlier agenda-setting research indicated a two-step process of transfer of issue salience: 1) media to public, followed by 2) public to policymakers. Brewer and McCombs (1996) found strong evidence that the media can affect the policymakers directly, without first influencing the public.

Because "agenda-setting literature conforms to the belief that prominence in the media leads to some form of salience in the public mind," (Roberts, 1992, p. 879), the dominance of local and national news coverage could affect public interest in international issues. Clearly, the reduction in foreign news coverage is setting the public's agenda, not only what to think about (local and national issues) but also what not to think about. According to Robert Cirino, cited by Cohen (1973, p. 40), one of the most effective ways of implanting bias is through news omission: "We-the-public should be aware that many decisions are made by editors who select the news in a way designed to support certain viewpoints." The Agenda Setting Theory suggests that the media have the ability to set the public's agenda

by choosing the news they provide to their audiences, thus inferring what should be important to the American public.

Social Responsibility Theory

The Social Responsibility Model was introduced with three other theoretical press models in *The Four Theories of the Press*, (Siebert, Peterson, & Schramm; 1956). The model, which describes 20th century American media, is based on the writings of William Ernest Hocking (1947) who presented a report from the Commission on Freedom of the Press.

Hocking, a professor of philosophy at Harvard, joined 12 other educators and government officials at the end of World War II to form the Commission on Freedom of the Press. According to Merrill (1994, p. 105), the commission was "responsible for a paradigm shift in press freedom to one that enthroned press responsibility." Hocking believed that as the public need for free circulation of ideas and opinions was increasing, diverse ownership of the press was decreasing, thus creating a vital need for social responsibility on the part of the press.

In addition to the Social Responsibility Theory, Siebert, et al., (1956) introduced three other models of the press: Authoritarian, Libertarian, and Soviet-Totalitarian.

The Authoritarian rationale was developed in sixteenth and seventeenth century England, and was designed to support

and advance the power of the monarchy. Still in use in some parts of the world today, this type of press can be owned publicly or privately, but publishing criticism of the political system or officials in power is strictly forbidden, (Siebert et al., 1956).

The Libertarian model, adopted by England after 1688 and in the United States, is based on the general philosophy of rationalism and natural rights. Unlike the Authoritarian model, the chief purpose of the Libertarian model is "to inform, entertain, sell - but chiefly to help discover truth and to check government," (Siebert et al., 1956, p. 7). Ownership of the press under this model is mainly private, and restrictions include defamation, obscenity, indecency, and wartime sedition.

The Soviet-Totalitarian model was unique to the Soviet Union, and was born out of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist thought. According to Siebert et al. (1956, p. 7), the purpose of this model was "to contribute to the success and continuance of the Soviet socialist system, and especially to the dictatorship of the party." In addition, the Soviet-Totalitarian model called for state ownership and close control of the press as an arm of the government.

The mass media scholars who developed the Social Responsibility Theory, suggest it should manifest itself in all levels of editorial decision-making, and "is imperative

to protect the citizen's right to adequate information," (Siebert et al., 1956, p. 101). This can be interpreted as meaning that the media are responsible for presenting balanced coverage of all significant events and issues that occur throughout the world. In fact, news happening in other parts of the world is even less accessible to the average American, who relies almost exclusively on the news media for this type of information.

It is important to note that balancing local, national and international news is not specifically mentioned by the Social Responsibility Theory scholars. This is probably due to the fact that when it was formulated in 1956 (the height of the Cold War), international news coverage was still quite prominent. However, the following quotation (Siebert et al., 1956, p. 87) clearly indicates a need by the public to receive all important information:

> What does society require from its press? "Its requirements in America today are greater in variety, quantity, and quality than those of any previous society in any age," the Commission says. One reason is the heavy reliance which the American citizen places on the press. He cannot experience much of the world first-hand, and in an urbanized society he lacks much of the face-to-face discussion which characterized earlier The

> societies...Yet alongside this growing dependency of Americans on the press in their transactions of public business, ownership of the media has become concentrated into a few hands, and the consumer of news and ideas is largely at the mercy of the operations of the operators of the media."

In his book *Last Rights: Revisiting the Four Theories of the Press,* Nerone (1995) takes a post-Cold War look at the social responsibility theory as well as the other three theories presented in *Four Theories.* Answering the question "Are media really more responsible today than they were during the 1940s and 1950s," Nerone (1995, p. 103) states "... it is difficult to argue, fifty years after the Hutchins Commission findings and forty years after Peterson's essay on social responsibility theory, that media are more socially responsible. They are just different."

Nerone (1995) disagreed with the Hutchins commission belief that government involvement in regulating the media could be acceptable if the media aren't living up to their social responsibilities. "A convincing case can be made that a powerful press is advisable as a check on government. For government to regulate the press would negate the check," (Nerone, 1995, p. 93). But according to Carpenter (1995, p. 45), during the Cold War, the United States government exerted pressure, albeit subtle, on the news

media. "Even during the embryonic stages of the Cold War, government efforts to manipulate the mainstream media and silence the unorthodox critics were evident." Describing government manipulation as a "velvet glove" used to seduce the media, Carpenter (1995, p. 46) gives the 1965 example of Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs Arthur Sylvester telling journalists that in times of war, they should be the "handmaiden" of government. "During the first two decades of the Cold War, much of the press viewed its role in the same way," (Carpenter, 1995, p. 46).

According to Merrill, (1997) a new media model known as "community" or "civic" journalism is building upon some characteristics of the Social Responsibility model. "Reconstructing the basic tenets of the Hutchins commissioners of the late 1940s, the new civic journalism proponents stress media responsibility, not press freedom (p. 55). Merrill, an opponent of the Social Responsibility model and the community journalism movement, believes in journalism autonomy, not community control of the media. The communitarians, however, believe that community should come first, and that media should serve the greater good of the community, even if it means giving up traditional press freedoms. "Today, the communitarians, sounding much like Rousseau, tell us that we need a more responsible media system, in which journalists, as members of society, are

willing to sacrifice their own freedom to the good of the whole," (Merrill, 1997, p. 55).

The mass media are society's window to the world. According to the Social Responsibility Theory, it is up to the media to keep the view out that window clear and accessible to the American public. This model supports the public need for news coverage that not only presents the significant local and national news of the day, but also a balanced look at events and issues happening in other parts of the world.

International News

Much has been written over the years regarding the way American media cover the world - or do not. The following is a look at literature that focuses on western media coverage of international events, with particular interest in how the Cold War may have impacted media framing of foreign news.

As suddenly as the Cold War began at the end of World War II, Gorbachev's glasnost brought it to a screeching halt in the early 1990s. "With incredible suddenness, the pressure was off...America's national interests would have to be redefined and with the threat of global nuclear war greatly reduced, at least for the moment, policymakers, their critics and those who covered them enjoyed new

flexibility," (Seib, 1997, p. 124). Media coverage of international issues no longer had a Cold War frame and journalists were forced to re-examine news choices: "The framework on which coverage decisions rested had become obsolete," (Seib, 1997, p. 124).

Ronald Reagan's much quoted description of Soviet communism as the "evil empire" was suddenly obsolete. "During the Cold War it was all so easy, whatever was wrong in the world was the fault of communism. We had an enemy and we had a crusade," (Steel, 1995, p. 12).

New York Times foreign editor Bernard Gwertzman (1993) observed that the end of the Cold War had a definite effect on international news coverage. "In the old days, when certain countries were pawns in the Cold War, their political orientation alone was reason enough for covering them. Now with their political orientation not quite as important, we don't want to forget them, but we have an opportunity to examine the different aspects of a society more fully."

Seib (1997, p. 124) cites news coverage of Poland as a perfect example of how the Cold War frame changed after the war. "After World War II, and throughout the Cold War, almost all news stories about Poland had been grounded in the East-West struggle...When the Cold War ended, Poland's relationship with the remnants of the Soviet Union lost much

of its relevance...Just as the Poles could conduct their nation's business without worrying about Soviet interference, so too could journalists now do stories about Poland without even mentioning the Kremlin."

Norris (1995) conducted an extensive content analysis of pre- and post-Cold War network television news, looking for significant changes in the amount and nature of world news. The researcher used a structured random sample of 2,228 ABC and CBS network news television programs drawn at annual intervals from 1973 to 1995. The study focused on trends from 1973 to 1975, subdivided into three periods: 1973-1988 (Cold War), 1989-1991 (watershed.transition period), and 1992-1995 (post-Cold War). She concluded that during the Cold War period, nearly one third of network news stories were international, spiking to 44% during the Cold War transition period (which included the Gulf War), returning to a low of 29% from 1992-1995. Data also indicated that over the last two decades, time spent on international news coverage fell from 45% in 1973 to 27% in 1995. This meant a reduction from about 10 down to five minutes per evening network newscast in the post-Cold War period. The study also indicates a large spike in coverage of the Soviet bloc during the 1989-1991 transition period, followed by a dramatic drop in coverage of Russia since the end of the Cold War.

Perhaps Norris' quote from Walter Lippmann best describes how the United States media cover the world:

> The press...is like the beam of a searchlight that moves restlessly about, bringing one episode and then another out of the darkness into vision. Men cannot do the work of the world by this light alone. The cannot govern society by episodes, incidents, and eruptions (Norris, 1995, p. 367).

Norris (1995) says the lack of the Cold War frame creates difficulty for today's media. "Nevertheless, we can speculate that television news, without a new framework, may have far greater problems in explaining America's role in the world...," (Norris, 1995, p. 367).

In her historical research of the Julius and Ethel Rosenberg espionage trial and their subsequent execution in 1953, (Carmichael, 1993) found evidence of a strong anti-communist media bias toward Cold War issues like the Rosenberg trial. The Rosenbergs were arrested in 1950 and eventually put on trial in 1951 for allegedly passing classified United States atomic weapon secrets to the Soviet Union. Quoting one of the senior scientists and prosecution witnesses for the trial, Carmichael (1993, p. 91) offered the following observation: "...What appalls me most is the role the press is playing. The judge's bias is so obvious. I keep looking at you newspapermen and there's not a flicker

of indignation or concern." According to Weisberger (1984) the Rosenbergs fit into a commonly accepted stereotype of the time, the "New York Jewish Red" which was nursed by strong anticommunist feelings. Carmichael's 1993 study revealed evidence that these anti-communist sentiments had also found there way into the media.

As early as the 1970s, mass media scholars were examining how the U.S. media covers the rest of the world. In their book *International News and the New World Order,* Varis, Salinas & Jokelin (1976, p. 19) wrote "Repeatedly heard argument from developing countries is the complaint that Western newsmen seek only 'negative' events in their countries but are not interested in the progress of development." This perception in part was responsible for the concept of a "new international information order" that became an important topic among mass media scholars during the 1970s and 1980s. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) even became involved, urging governments to formulate codes of conduct to ensure unbiased and objective reporting (Giffard, 1989). UNESCO continued its push to achieve new "information order" that led to policies and proposals that so inflamed many influential U.S. media organizations and some members of the State Department, that the United States eventually withdrew from UNESCO in 1983. In effect "...the world's largest free

press system reacted to a challenge to its global interest," (Giffard, 1989, p. xvii).

A ten-year study that looked at international news coverage by U.S. television networks confirmed that during the period of 1972-1981, foreign news reporting represented a large portion of each newscast (Larson, 1984). On average, Larson found that nearly 40% of the evening news during that time period was devoted to international stories, which equates to an average of seven stories per newscast. According to Larson (1984), the average foreign video report was only eight seconds shorter than the average domestic report, and that during the period 1976-1981, networks devoted an average of nine minutes, 50 seconds to foreign coverage out of each 22-23 minutes of airtime. Data from the study also indicated a proportion of Cold War-related coverage. "Overall, the typical network news broadcast was likely to contain news items referring to the USSR, major U.S. allies in Western Europe, Japan, or the Middle East," (Larson, 1984, p. 49).

Wells and King (1994) looked at how newspapers covered the first post-Cold War Congressional campaign in a study that specifically examined the amount of international and foreign affairs emphasis. They conducted a content analysis of all 1990 Congressional campaign and international affairs news and editorial/commentary articles in the *New York*

Times, the *Washington Post,* the *Los Angeles Times,* and the *Chicago Tribune.* The researchers chose the four publications because "they have an international news gathering ability and extensive international/foreign affairs coverage," (Wells & King, 1994, p. 654). They coded the campaign-related articles according to three thematic categories: "contest," "personal qualities," and "policy issues." The researchers coded all articles as international/foreign affairs if their headlines referred to a region of the world other than the United States. The articles were then coded according to issue-related categories such as USSR/Eastern Europe, Persian Gulf crisis, Asia, Western Europe, etc... Results of the study indicated "that even though there was extensive coverage of international and foreign affairs, the issue of foreign affairs was largely ignored in the coverage of Congressional campaigns," (Wells & King, 1994, p. 654).

In a study that looked at Cold War network television news coverage from 1972 through 1989 (Gonzenbach, Arant & Stevenson, 1992) revealed data that supported Larson's (1984) findings. The more recent study concluded that TV coverage of the world remained relatively stable through the 1970s and 1980s, with foreign news representing about 40% of all network news during that period. The study also concluded that foreign coverage was geographically

unbalanced, with much more focus on developed nations than developing ones.

Riffe, Aust, Jones, Shoemaker & Sundar (1994) looked specifically at foreign coverage in the *New York Times* between in 1969 and 1990. The study, which did not examine Post Cold War coverage, drew several conclusions about the paper's change in international coverage. Data collected from their content analysis indicate a dramatic drop in foreign coverage by the *New York Times* over the 21 year period. Average number of international items per day went from 49 in 1969 to 22-23 by 1990. However, the average length of foreign news items increased during that timeframe from eight paragraphs in 1969 to 13.8 paragraphs in 1989. The researchers point out that even though the length of international stories increased, it did not offset the decrease in numbers of stories. According to the study, wire story usage dropped while in-house foreign correspondent-written stories increased in length. Riffe et al. (1994) also noted that the *New York Times* increased its total editorial space during the study timeframe -- indicating that reduced foreign coverage was not done for fiscal reasons, as may be the case in some newspapers. The study didn't specifically code for Cold War-related stories, but did indicate that a large proportion dealt with Third

World topics -- a finding that runs counter to previous mentioned studies of television news coverage.

Overall, Riffe et al. (1994) indicated that the decrease in the *New York Times* coverage of world news may be the result of the increasing role of electronic media as society's source for international news. "According to George Garneau, 'Newspapers have been supplanted by television as the prime source of news for many Americans - CNN brings world events into American living rooms nearly as they happen," (Riffe et al., 1994, p. 75).

Ganzert and Flournoy (1992) conducted an analysis of CNN's weekly "World Report," comparing its content to international news coverage by ABC, CBS, and NBC. Because "World Report" consists entirely of international news stories submitted by non-CNN employed foreign nationals from around the world, the researchers assumed there would be significant differences between CNN/WR and U.S. network coverage of international events. Their content analysis findings did not completely support their assumptions, but there were noteworthy differences in topics covered. For example, "World Reports'" number-one category was "arts/culture/entertainment", while the U.S. networks most frequently covered topic was "military/national defense." "World Report" also tended to emphasize positive stories, even when they related to tragic events. On the other hand,

the U.S. networks favored negative stories and "...foreign stories reported by the U.S. networks tended to be 'U.S. stories from a foreign dateline.' CNN's World Report, on the other hand, is collected, edited and presented by local journalists within the countries represented," (Ganzert and Flournoy, 1992, p. 194).

Chang and Lee (1992) conducted a national survey of U.S. newspaper editors to examine what criteria they use to select foreign news for their publications. The mail survey went out to a national sample of 540 daily newspapers and yielded 279 respondents with a response rate of 51.7%. The editors were asked to rate the importance of 12 selection factors that included "physical distance from United States," "threat of event to United States," "human interest," "cultural relevance to United States," etc...

According to the findings, which supported the researchers' hypothesis, "As far as foreign news selection is concerned, most newspaper editors appear to focus more on factors having significant impact or consequences, especially when American security and national interest are involved," (Chang & Lee, 1992, p. 561). In addition, the study revealed that editors don't consider American trade relations, physical distance from the United States and economic development as important factors when choosing international news stories for their publications.

Lacy, Chang, & Lau, (1989) studied the relationship between the business nature of newspapers in the United States and their coverage of international news. "Costs of providing news become important when talking about organizational influences. Foreign news is more expensive to gather than local, state, regional or national news," (Lacy et al., 1989, p. 25). Using a randomly stratified sample of 144 newspapers from 38 states, the researchers conducted a content analysis of international news articles appearing during a randomly selected composite week in 1984. Findings of the study indicated that the strongest relationship was between circulation and foreign news coverage, followed by dependence on wire service stories and foreign coverage. "As both dependence on wire stories and circulation increased, the percentage of news space given foreign coverage increased," (Lacy et al., 1989. p. 29). The researchers also found a lack of in-depth coverage of international news. "Only six newspapers carried any in-depth coverage of foreign news, while 68 of the newspapers carried domestic in-depth coverage," (Lacy et al., 1989. p. 30). Overall, the study points to United States newspapers' heavy reliance on wire services for foreign news, because most publications do not have the resources to do their own foreign reporting. This results in international news articles that tend to be conflict-based because "conflict

coverage takes precedence over more time-consuming in-depth coverage," (Lacy et al., 1989. p. 30).

Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, (1991, p. 786) hypothesized that "the more deviant a world event is, the more prominently it will be covered by the U.S. media. Their study examined the coverage of 200 international events in 1984 and 1985 by the *New York Times*, ABC, CBS, and NBC network news. The findings supported their hypothesis regarding deviance: "...world events presented most prominently to the audience of four elite U.S. media are those events that are deviant and have economic or political significance in the United States," (Shoemaker et al., 1991, p. 794). They found that the second most prominent coverage went to deviant events with low significance, confirming their prediction that deviance is important in determining newsworthiness of international news.

Cohen (1995) examined the geographic distribution of foreign press corps to measure perceived newsworthiness of various parts of the world. The researcher found that the country with the largest concentration of foreign correspondents is the United States at 973, and Western Europe is the world region hosting the most foreign news bureaus with 4,573, followed by Asia with 1,241 and Eastern Europe with 1,029. The study described this pattern as "elitism" which is the "media interest in 'important',

'powerful', and 'prominent' individuals, institutions and countries," (Cohen, 1995, p. 91). This accounts for an obvious lack of correspondents in Eastern Third World nations as well as South and Central America. He also cites "proximity" as a factor in how media organizations assign their correspondents. He describes "proximity" as not only geographic, but also cultural, economic, and political ties to a particular area of the world. For instance, he cites the large presence in Italy of media from strongly Catholic countries as an example of cultural proximity. Cohen (1995) concludes from his study that considering trends toward elitism and proximity, the option to cover countries outside of elite nations or outside one's own geographical region exists only with North American and Western European media. He goes on to point out that when faced with economic constraints, media organizations will almost always choose to place a correspondent in an "elite" nation rather than a neighboring country. This study is noteworthy because although other studies indicate a reduction in U.S. foreign news coverage, this research indicates the United States press corps still appears to be the best equipped for covering news outside of North America.

How has post-Cold War media coverage of world events changed in countries besides the United States? Hanson (1995) examined international news coverage in *The Times of*

India to see if it was affected by the removal of the Cold War frame. The content analysis revealed only a modest change in how *The Times of India* covered international news. According to Hanson (1995) the paper remained consistent with its geographical priorities - South Asia continued to receive more attention than any other region. A qualitative study of editorials also revealed consistent coverage of the United States and Russia throughout the transition to a post-Cold War era. One of the only significant changes noted in the study was the post-Cold war rise in stories devoted to economics - doubling the Cold War fraction of 8%.

In addition, Hanson (1995) found a moderate decrease in military issues from 19% to 11% after the Cold War. This study indicates that the United States may not be joined by other nations in it's reduced, reframed post-Cold War international news coverage.

In summary, the literature reviewed represents a broad spectrum of studies regarding international media coverage. In most cases, research data indicates that U.S. international network television and newspaper coverage remained stable throughout the 1970s and 1980s, but has declined since the end of the Cold War. Content analyses suggest there are less foreign stories appearing in print or on network television news while other research indicates that the United States is one of the most capable countries

in the world when it comes to international news coverage Cohen, 1995).

Finally, at least one study (Hanson, 1995) indicates that other countries may not be as affected by the end of the Cold War in the way they report foreign news.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

The study examines international news content in the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic* in 1977 (Cold War) and 1997 (post-Cold War). Content analyses of the two newspapers were conducted to gather nominal-level data that was presented in percentages and frequency distributions to help summarize and illustrate the findings.

According to Krippendorf (1980, p. 21), "Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context." Budd (1967) states that content analysis is more than a method of analysis, but is also a method of observation. Wimmer and Dominick (1994) stress that a content analysis must involve three important concepts. First, it must be systematic - "One and only one set of guidelines for evaluation is used throughout the study," (p. 164). Second, content analysis must be objective. "The researcher's personal idiosyncrasies and biases should not enter into the findings," (p. 164), and third, content analysis is quantitative. "The goal of content analysis is the accurate representation of a body of messages," (p. 164).

Because the main purpose of this study was to examine changes in the amount of foreign news content in newspapers

during and after the Cold War, content analysis was the most appropriate research method for gathering useful data. "Content analysis involves counting. For example, researchers doing studies on trends may count the column inches in a sample of newspapers over time on the subject of the environment. Regardless of what is said about the environment, the researcher can generate data that will indicate whether there is more or less attention devoted to the subject," (Berry, 1990, p. xv).

The use of content analysis as a research tool has been around for more than 50 years and can be traced as far back as World War II, when, according to Wimmer & Dominick (1994), it was used to examine radio broadcasts for intelligence data. "Since that time, the method has achieved wide popularity. In 1968, Tannenbaum and Greenberg reported that content analysis of newspapers was the largest single category of masters' theses in mass communication," (p. 163).

Research Questions

The overall research question for this study is: What impact did the end of the Cold War have on international news reported in U.S. newspapers? The sub-questions are 1) Has the amount of international news coverage in U.S. newspapers changed since the Cold War ended?, 2) Has the

length of U.S. newspapers international news items changed in the post-Cold War period?, 3) Has the placement of international news articles in U.S. newspapers changed since the end of the Cold War? and 4) Have U.S. newspapers changed their focus on geopolitical regions (First Second, and Third-World) since the Cold War ended?

The unit of analysis for the study is the international news article, which is operationally defined later in this chapter. The study focuses on comparing Cold War and post-Cold War international news article frequency, length, and placement, as well as geopolitical focus of international news articles during and after the Cold War.

Study Population

The study population represents the total number of international news articles appearing in the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic* during two composite weeks selected from the entire years of 1977 and 1997. All news sections of the *New York Times* and *Arizona Republic,* except opinion/editorial, travel, entertainment, and sports were examined in the study.

The composite two-week periods were constructed by randomly selecting two Mondays, two Tuesdays, two Wednesdays, etc... for each year of the study (1977 & 1997).

Table 1 lists dates randomly selected in 1977 and 1997 to construct composite weeks for the study population:

Table 1

Composite Weeks Selected Randomly For Content Analysis

	1977	1997
Monday	Oct 3	Oct 13
Tuesday	May 3	Nov 18
Wednesday	Oct 26	May 7
Thursday	Feb 24	Jan 2
Friday	Sep 30	Jul 25
Saturday	Oct 22	Nov 22
Sunday	Aug 7	Mar 23
Monday	Jun 13	Nov 10
Tuesday	Jul 19	Jun 17
Wednesday	Jun 8	Feb 26
Thursday	Mar 3	Jun 19
Friday	Feb 4	Mar 28
Saturday	Aug 20	Oct 18
Sunday	Jul 10	May 18

All days of the year had equal opportunity for selection in this study. According to Riffe, et al. (1994) two composite weeks per year is the optimal sample size for estimating a newspaper's content. In addition, Wimmer & Dominick (1994 p. 170), stated that increasing the sample size beyond 12 issues of a newspaper per year does not significantly improve upon accuracy.

The *New York Times* was selected for this study because of its reputation as a leader in international news coverage (Riffe, et al., 1994) and its influence on the news that

other newspapers obtain (Sigal, 1973). According to Riffe, et al. (1994, p. 76) " The *New York Times* "...represents a rich data source for finding long-term trends and subtle patterns. Its influence among news organizations is legend. If one of the world's elite papers narrows its coverage of the rest of the world, that more likely portends narrowing among other papers coverage than broadening."

The *Arizona Republic* was selected as a data source for this pilot study because it is relatively typical of metropolitan dailies in the United States when it comes to how it obtains international news. It does not have its own foreign news bureaus, and thus relies almost exclusively on news services such as the Associated Press, Reuters or the *New York Times* for international news reporting. According to Lacy et al. (1989), "Because most U.S. newspapers do not have resources for their own foreign-based staff, they are dependent on wire services to provide coverage of foreign events," (p. 30).

While it cannot be assumed that the *Arizona Republic* is representative of all U.S. metropolitan dailies without foreign news bureaus, its ownership by the Indianapolis-based Central Newspapers Inc., suggests that its approach to international news coverage may be fairly typical of daily newspapers throughout the Midwestern United States. Its 1997 weekday circulation of 399,702 is comparable to that of

other Middle American big-city dailies like the *St. Louis Dispatch,* with its 1997 circulation of 338,793, or the *Kansas City Star,* with its 288,295 circulation in 1997.

While the question of Mexico-related influence on the *Arizona Republic's* balance of international news coverage is an important consideration, it is also important to note that a total of 17 states (34%) share borders with Mexico or Canada, Florida has less than 100 miles of ocean between it and Cuba, and Hawaii is within close proximity to the Asian Pacific nations. To measure the proportion of Mexico-related news in the *Arizona Republic,* the researcher coded all international articles for Mexico content, which will be discussed further in the following section.

The Coding Instrument

Because of the large size of the study population (n=1,083), a coding instrument was designed to gather the necessary data in an expedient, systematic manner. All items were coded as international news articles according to the following operational criteria:

International News Article - Any article appearing in the news or business sections of the *New York Times* or *Arizona Republic* with a non-United States dateline, or an article with a United States dateline (or no dateline) that pertains

to a news event, person, policy, etc...in a country other than the United States.

All international articles were coded for date of publication as well as which publication they appeared in. International news articles also were coded for length (paragraphs of text), page (beginning on page 1, 2, 3, 4, etc...), section (news or business), and geopolitical focus (which geopolitical region of the world the event occurred in). The following operational definitions were used to identify each country's geopolitical region:

1) **First World**: All western industrialized nations of the world and Japan.
2) **Second World**: All current and former communist or socialist nations of the world, including Cuba, China, North Korea, Vietnam, Russia and the former satellite states of the former USSR.
3) **Third World**: All developing nations of Africa, Asia, Latin America and the Middle East.

In addition, each international article dateline was recorded on the coding sheet. Articles were also coded for source -- wire service or staff-generated copy.

Because of Arizona's shared border with Mexico, the researcher also coded all international articles in the *Arizona Republic* and the *New York Times* for content regarding Mexico. This allowed the researcher to isolate

the percentage of international articles in the *Arizona Republic* that are Mexico-related and to draw a cross comparison between the *Arizona Republic* and the *New York Times* of Mexican news coverage.

Study Limitations

The findings of this research, as in all content analyses, are limited to the framework and definitions that were used in the study (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994). The data from this pilot study cannot be generalized to a larger population because they only represent the specific publications examined during the specific timeframes. However, future studies of other publications should be conducted to extend this research. Nominal-level data obtained from this content analysis can only be used to show percentage changes and frequency distributions of the variables measured, and cannot be used to explain effects upon an audience (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994).

All of the coding categories for this study were definable and objective, requiring very little interpretation or personal judgment on the part of the coder, which suggests that data validity should be near 100%. Describing content analysis reliability, Budd (1967, p. 66) states: "Simple counting - for example, the number of times a key word or symbol appears - presents no problems.

Assigning direction to statements, detecting propaganda themes, judging the strength of words - these operations may present the investigator and his coders with a great challenge." Additionally, because one investigator conducted all coding of articles for the content analysis, intercoder reliability is not an issue in this study. "Intercoder reliability refers to levels of agreement among independent coders who code the same content using the same coding instrument," (Wimmer and Dominick, 1994, p. 178).

Chapter IV

PRESENTATION OF DATA

The content analysis of the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic* during two composite weeks in 1977 and 1997 yielded a total of 1,083 international news articles, with nearly two-thirds of all the articles appearing in the *New York Times* (n=720) and approximately one-third (n=363) appearing in the *Arizona Republic*. Examination of the articles found 170 different dateline locations around the world, with 106 of the 1,083 articles (9.7%) not containing datelines.

As indicated in Table 2, the *New York Times* included a total of 13 international articles regarding Mexico during both two-composite week periods, while the *Arizona Republic* had a total of 15 international articles about Mexico-related issues or events in both the 1977 and 1997 composite two-week periods. Approximately 2% of all *New York Times* international articles pertained to Mexico while 4% of all *Arizona Republic* international articles published during both study periods were Mexico-related. Overall, there was approximately a tow percentage point difference in total Mexico-related international articles published in the two newspapers. Interestingly, data indicate that in the 1997 two-composite week study period, the *Arizona Republic*

published as many articles about Canada (n=8) as it did regarding Mexico.

Table 2

Mexico-Related International News Articles

New York Times				Arizona Republic			
1977	(%)	1997	(%)	1977	(%)	1997	(%)
3	(.72)	10	(3.2)	7	(3.6)	8	(5)

Question 1, Has the amount of international news coverage in U.S. newspapers changed since the Cold War ended?

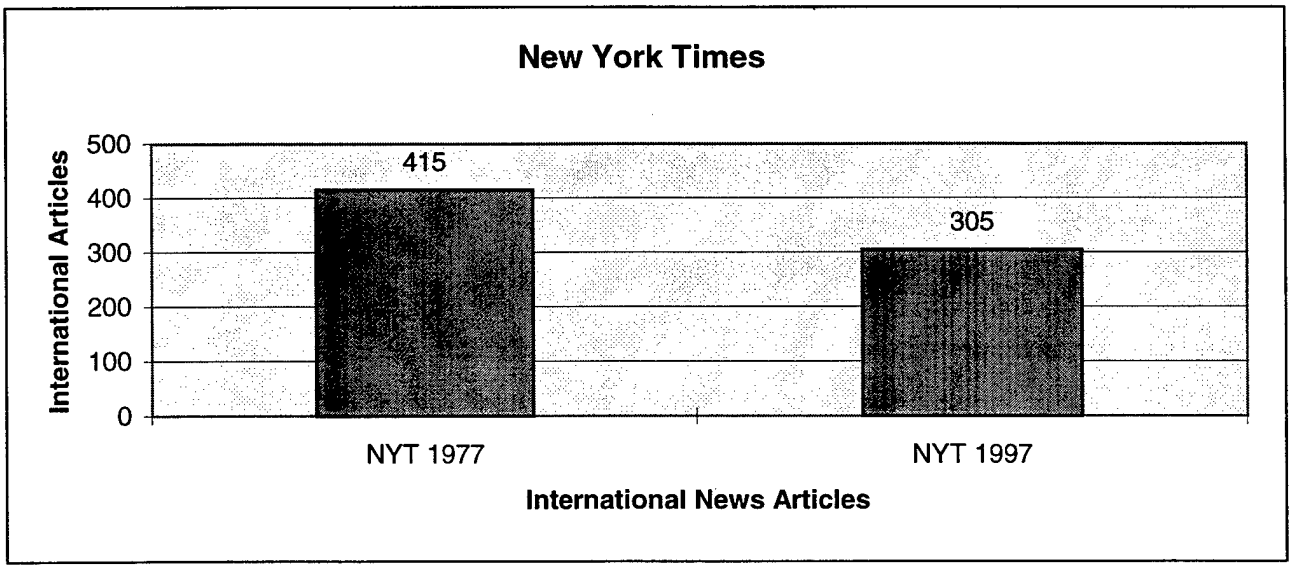
As shown in Figure 1, the number of international news articles appearing in the *New York Times* dropped approximately 26.5% from the Cold War period (n=415) to the post-Cold War (n=305). The average daily number of international articles appearing in the *New York Times* dropped from 29.6 in 1977 to 21.8 in 1997.

Figure 2 shows that the *Arizona Republic* experienced a decrease of 20.3% in international news articles from the Cold War examination period (n=202) to the post-Cold War period (n=161). This equates to a drop in the daily average of international articles form 14.4 in 1997 to 11.5 in 1997. The combined decrease in international news articles for both publications was 25.3%.

Additionally, data from this study indicate that wire service-provided articles in the *New York Times* accounted for 32% of the international news items in 1977, increasing to 38% of international items in 1997.

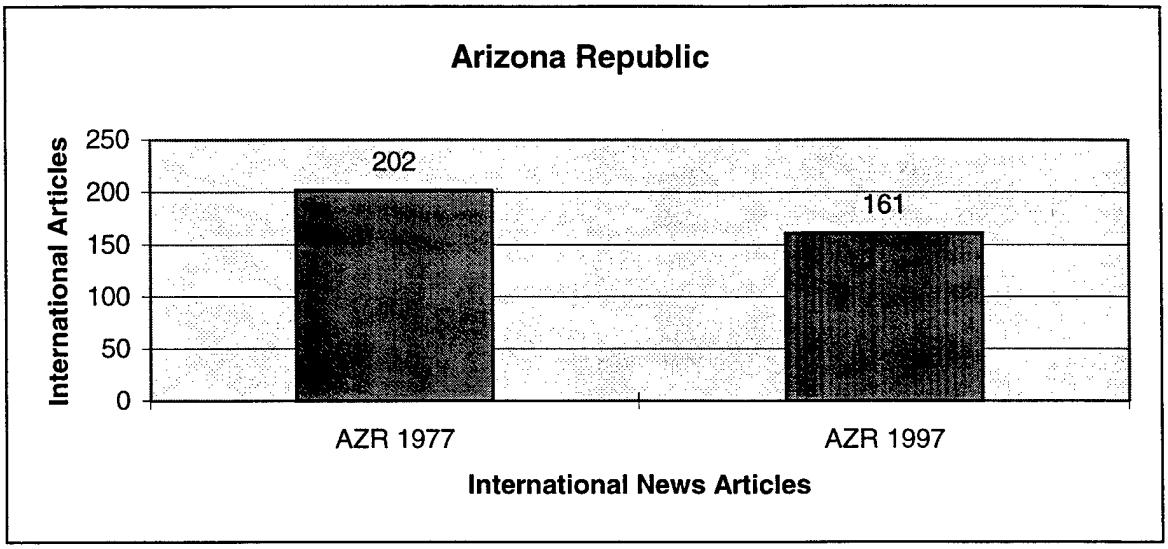
Because the *Arizona Republic* does not have its own international reporting staff, wire service-provided foreign news was nearly 100%: 98.5% in 1977 and 97.5% in 1997. All but one of the non-wire service international articles pertained to Mexico-related issues or events.

Figure1



International news articles in the *New York Times* decreased from 415 to 305 or 26.5% from the Cold War to the post-Cold War study periods.

Figure 2



International new articles in the *Arizona Republic* decreased from 202 to 191 or 20.3% from the Cold War to the post-Cold War study periods.

Question 2, Has the length of U.S. newspapers international news items changed in the post-Cold War period?

The *New York Times* experienced an increase in average international article length from 9.98 paragraphs in 1977 to 13.94 paragraphs in 1997, marking a 28% increase in article length during the post-Cold War period (Figure 3).

Consistent with the above findings, study data also indicate a reduction in the *New York Times'* use of short international articles (four or less paragraphs) from the Cold War to the post-Cold War periods. In 1977, international articles four paragraphs or less in length comprised 34% (n=141) of all international articles. In

1997, the number of international articles four paragraphs or less in length dropped to 28% (n=86) of all *New York Times* international articles.

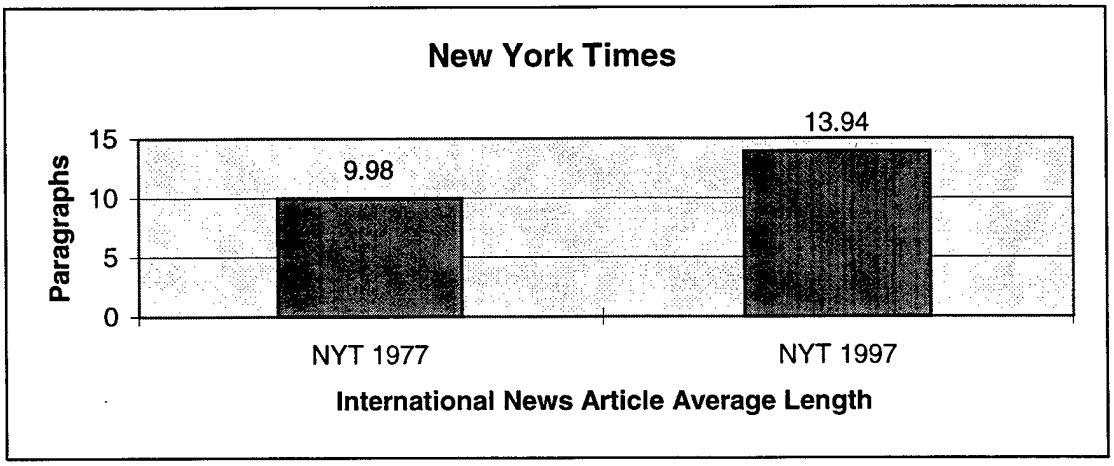
Staff written international articles in the *New York Times* increased in average length from 12.5 paragraphs in the 1977 study period to 18.7 paragraphs in the 1997 two-composite week period. However, wire service-provided articles decreased in average length from 4.6 paragraphs in 1977 to 3.9 paragraphs in 1997.

Conversely, as indicated in Figure 4, the *Arizona Republic* experienced an overall decrease in average international news article length from 1977 to 1997 of approximately 27%. Articles dropped from an average length of 11.31 paragraphs during the Cold War period to 8.29 paragraphs in the post-Cold War period.

Also noteworthy was the *Arizona Republic's* increased use of short international articles (four or less paragraphs) in the post-Cold War study period. During the 1977 study period, 11% (n=23) of international articles published in the *Arizona Republic* were four paragraphs or less in length. In the post-Cold War study period, the number of four paragraph or less international articles climbed to 52% (n=84) of all international articles. This increase in shorter international article usage was probably

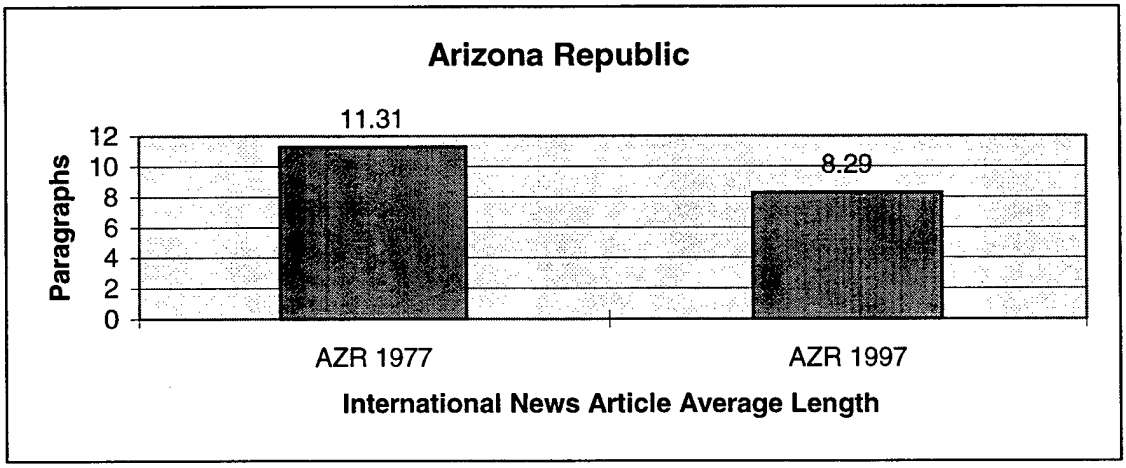
due the *Arizona Republic's* publication of a "World Briefs" column in the post-Cold War study period.

Figure 3



New York Times average international article length increased from 9.98 to 13.94 paragraphs or 28% from the Cold War to the post-Cold War study periods.

Figure 4



Average international article length in the *Arizona Republic* decreased 27% from the Cold War to the post-Cold War study periods.

Question 3, Has the placement of international news articles in U.S. newspapers changed since the end of the Cold War?

As indicated in Table 3, the number of international news articles placed on the front page of news sections in the *New York Times* dropped 25% from the Cold War to post-Cold War study periods. During the 1977 two-composite week period, 44 articles appeared on the front pages of *New York Times* news sections (section 1, Monday-Sunday and "Week in Review" section 4, Sundays only) dropping to 33 in the 1997 study period).

Table 3

Front Page Placement of International Articles

New York Times			Arizona Republic		
1977	1997	(% change)	1977	1997	(%change)
44	33	(-25)	16	8	(-50)

Study data indicate that the *Arizona Republic* experienced an even more dramatic reduction in front page placement of international news articles from the Cold War to the post-Cold War study periods. With 16 international news articles appearing on the front page of the *Arizona Republic* during the 1977 two-composite week period, the number dropped 50% to 8 front page international news articles during the 1997 study period.

As illustrated in Table 4, another noteworthy change in the placement of international articles was indicated in the post-Cold War shift of items from the *New York Times* news section to the business section. The research data indicates that international articles in the *New York Times* business section increased from 8% of all international articles in 1977 to 25% in 1997. This marks a 17% shift in international articles from news sections to the business section.

Table 4
Section Placement of International Articles

	New York Times				Arizona Republic			
Section	1977	(%)	1997	(%)	1977		1997	
News	382	(92)	229	(75)	200	(99)	156	(96)
Business	33	(8)	76	(25)	2	(1)	6	(4)
Total	415		305		202		162	

Although not as dramatic as the *New York Times*, the *Arizona Republic* also saw a shift in international articles from the news section to the business section. With only 1% of all international articles appearing in the business section in 1977, the post-Cold War period data indicates that 4% of all international articles appeared in the business section in 1997. Despite the four-fold increase, international news articles in the post-Cold War period

continue to appear infrequently in the *Arizona Republic* business section.

Question 4, Have U.S. newspapers' focus on geopolitical regions (First Second, and Third-World) changed since the Cold War ended?

Table 5 indicates that geopolitical focus of international news articles remained relatively unchanged from the Cold War to the post-Cold War examination period in both the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic.* In each publication and in both examination periods, Third World news dominated international news, followed by First World items, with Second World news accounting for the smallest percentage of international news articles during and after the Cold War.

Table 5

Geopolitical Focus of International Articles

	New York Times				Arizona Republic			
	1977	(%)	1997	(%)	1977	(%)	1997	(%)
1st World	121	(29)	96	(31)	44	(22)	38	(23)
2nd World	71	(17)	52	(17)	38	(19)	27	(17)
3rd World	223	(54)	157	(52)	120	(59)	96	(60)

The *Arizona Republic* saw a 1% increase in Third World-related news articles from 1977 (59%) to 1997 (60%),and a 1% increase in First World news from 1977 (22%) and 1997 (23%).

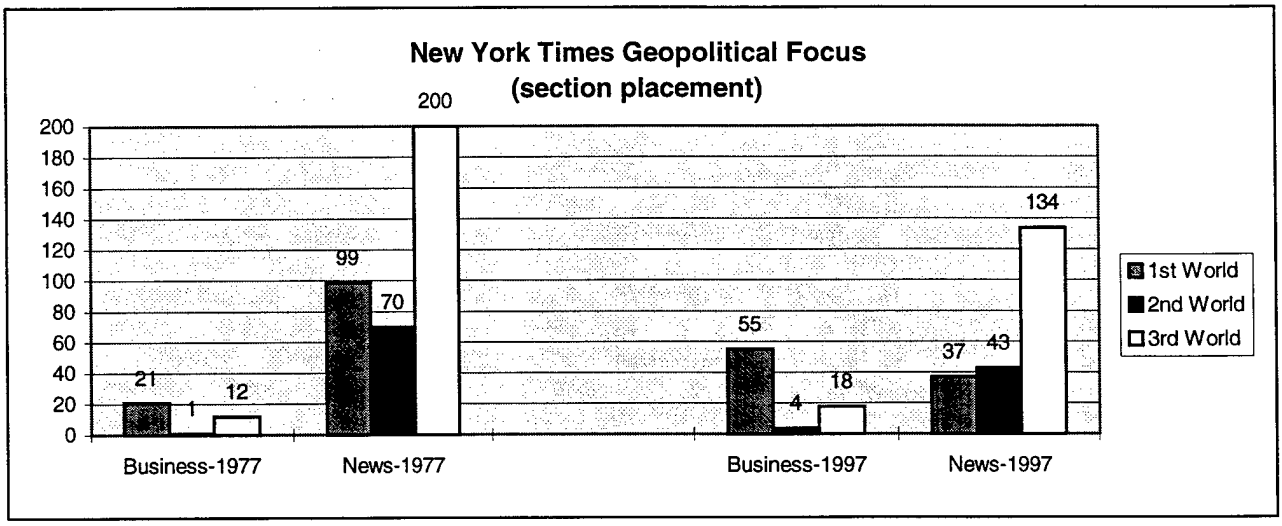
Second World news articles dropped 2% from 1977 (19%) to 1997 (17%).

The study also examined how geopolitical focus affected international article placement in news and business sections of the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic*.

Figure 5 shows where (business or news sections) international articles appeared according to geopolitical focus in the *New York Times* in the Cold War and post-Cold War study periods. While articles about Third World countries dominated the news sections in both 1977 and 1997, international articles with a First World focus far outnumbered Second and Third World-related articles in the business section in both the 1977 and 1997 composite two-week study periods.

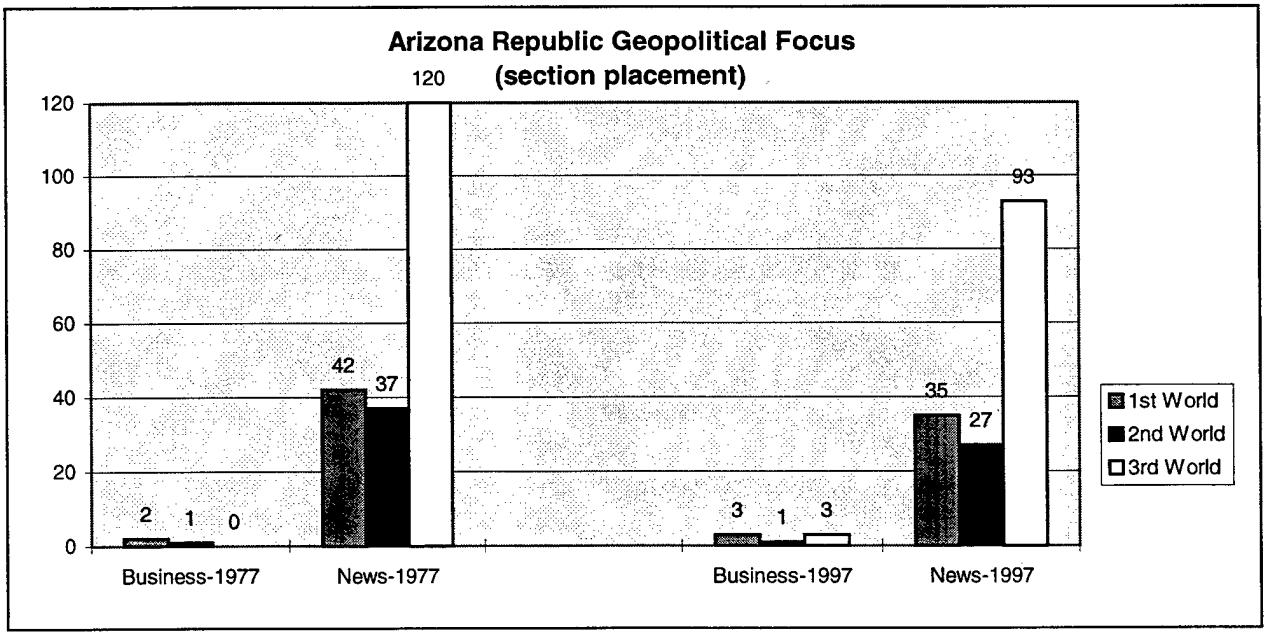
As indicated in Figure 6, international article placement in the *Arizona Republic* business section was so low in the Cold War and post-Cold War study periods (n=3 in 1977 and n=7 in 1997), that the content analysis did not uncover sufficient data regarding geopolitical impact on section placement.

Figure 5



Third World-related articles dominated international coverage in the news sections of the *New York Times* in 1977 and 1997 while First World articles led business section international coverage in both 1997 and 1997.

Figure 6



Low usage of international articles in the business section of the *Arizona Republic* to provide useful data regarding changes in geopolitical focus.

Chapter V

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The data gathered in this study suggest that international news content in the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic* has declined in the post-Cold War period, particularly in the number of international articles appearing in each publication. However, the 26.5% decrease in international articles for the *New York Times* and 20.3% decrease for the *Arizona Republic* is one of the only similarities these two publications share when it comes to post-Cold War international news coverage.

Comparing an international news leader such as the *New York Times* with a metropolitan daily newspaper such as the *Arizona Republic* revealed some differences in how these two publications cover the world. While the *New York Times* continues to depend on its own international reporting staff to file stories from around the world, the *Arizona Republic* relies almost entirely on wire services and publications like the *New York Times* to provide it with international news items. With the exception of a small number of staff-written articles about Mexico-related issues (n=4), the *Arizona Republic's* international articles were all provided by news wire services.

Assuming that editorial space in the *New York Times* has not been reduced since the 1978 study period -- Riffe et al.

(1994) states that it increased from 1969 to 1990 -- it may explain why average international article length in the *New York Times* has grown 28% in the post-Cold War period. According to Riffe et al. (1994, p. 76), "...the daily *New York Times* grew from a 1971 average of 71 pages to 113 pages in 1987. The impact? Because the newshole has grown even faster than advertising, there are more pages for editors to fill," (Riffe et al., 1994, p. 76).

With news bureaus located throughout the world, the *New York Times* must justify this expense by continuing to allocate editorial space for international news, and with fewer articles to fill a larger newshole, it becomes necessary to increase average article length.

But does the increase in international article length offset the reduction in number of international articles published in the *New York Times?* Riffe et al. (1994) stated that the increase in average article length did not offset the decrease in numbers of international stories in their study of the *New York Times*. Instead of more international news topics to choose from, *New York Times* readers appear to be receiving fewer news articles, but more in-depth than the Cold War study period. So why are the *New York Times* foreign correspondents producing fewer articles in the post-Cold War study period? The lack of a Cold War frame may be at least part of the answer, however further content

analyses of international article subject matter could provide valuable data. Because this pilot study only measures item frequency and length of international articles, additional research that includes non-international item frequency and length could provide data that indicates overall proportion-of-the-newshole changes in international coverage.

According to data from this study, readers of the *Arizona Republic* are receiving 20.3% fewer international articles in the post-Cold War study period, but unlike the *New York Times,* average *Arizona Republic* international article length dropped 27% in the post-Cold War period. While the reduction in international articles may be related to wire sources such as the *New York Times* providing fewer international articles in the post-Cold War period, the reduction in average length is probably not a reflection of a smaller post-Cold War newshole in the *Arizona Republic*. Although non-proprietary information regarding changes in the size of the *Arizona Republic's* newshole was not available, Riffe et al. (1994) states that "...weekday newspapers now average 55 percent greater bulk than a decade ago, and 98 percent greater bulk on Sundays...," (p.76).

Study data also indicate that shorter international articles containing four or fewer paragraphs became more common in the *Arizona Republic* during 1997 study period.

The percentage of four-paragraph-or-fewer international articles climbed from 11% to 52% in the post-Cold War study period. This means that more than one-half of the international news articles *Arizona Republic* readers received in the post-Cold War study period were in the form of news briefs, as opposed to about one-tenth of the international articles that appeared in the 1977 study period.

Overall, this study indicates that the *Arizona Republic* made a dramatic reduction in its publication of international news, both in number of articles and article length from the Cold War to the post-Cold War study periods. Further content analysis of non-international news in the *Arizona Republic* may reveal whether or not the proportion of non-international news articles in the *Arizona Republic* has changed also.

Placement of international articles in the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic* also reflected changes and differences in how both publications cover international news in the post-Cold War period.

If front page placement is a way to emphasize certain news items to readers, study data indicate that both newspapers are placing much less emphasis on international news in the post-Cold War period. With the *New York Times* placing 25% less international news items on its front page

in the post-Cold War study period and the *Arizona Republic* doubling that figure at a 50% reduction, each made a remarkable change in the front page placement of international news in the post-Cold War study period.

In the 1997 study period, the *Arizona Republic* appeared to place many of its four-paragraph-or-fewer international articles in a column with the heading "World Briefs." This "World Briefs" column tended to be located in the news section on page 7 or higher and appeared to be a convenient way to package non-front page international news in one area deeper in the publication. Conversely, in the 1977 study period, the *Arizona Republic* did not use a "World Briefs" column and placed international articles throughout the news section. This demonstrates a definite movement toward de-emphasizing international news in the *Arizona Republic* in the post-Cold War study period by moving it away from the front page and compacting it into "World Briefs" section located deeper in the publication.

While not as dramatic as the *Arizona Republic*, the *New York Times* reduced placement of international news items on its front pages by 25% in the post-Cold War study period. However, for a newspaper that is considered to be an international news leader, this drop in front page international news placement may be more significant than the 50% reduction in the *Arizona Republic*. With one-fourth

less international news coverage on the front page of the *New York Times* in the post-Cold War study period, it appears that the publication may be de-emphasizing international news by moving it deeper into the newspaper.

While data indicate the *New York Times* saw a reduction of front page international news articles, the study also suggests a 17% increase in the portion of international articles appearing in the publication's business section in the post-Cold War period. This may be another indicator of a shift in news framing from the Cold War to the post-Cold War period. Without the Cold War news frame, foreign news bureaus appear to be focusing more on reporting business-related international news than they did during the Cold War study period.

As noted previously, the *Arizona Republic* did not make a significant change in the ratio of news section to business section placement of international news in the post-Cold War study period. This may be another example of a fundamental difference in the way both publications cover international news. Study data indicate that international business news was not a high priority for the *Arizona Republic* in the 1977 or 1997 study periods, which is consistent with the publication's greater emphasis on local and regional news than the *New York Times*.

Despite the noteworthy changes in the number, length and placement of international articles indicated by data from this pilot study, geopolitical focus appears to have remained virtually unchanged in the post-Cold War study period. The researcher anticipated at least some shift away from articles regarding Second World nations in the post-Cold War study period. Instead, data from the study indicated that the percentage of international news regarding Second World issues remained at 17% from the Cold War to post-Cold War study period for the *New York Times*, and dropped only 2% from 19% in 1977 to 17% in 1997 in the *Arizona Republic*.

Because the *Arizona Republic* relies almost exclusively on wire services such as the *New York Times* for its international news, it is not surprising that its percentages of First, Second and Third World-related articles would mirror those of the *New York Times*. However, why did the *New York Times'* geopolitical focus remain almost unchanged in the post-Cold war study period? An increase in news regarding the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina and an elevated post-Cold War interest in Communist China-related news may account, at least in part, for the unchanged post-Cold War Second World focus of the *New York Times*. However, data from this pilot study do not provide enough information to confirm this explanation. Further longitudinal content

analyses are necessary to reveal necessary details about the nature of Second World geopolitical focus in the post-Cold War era.

This study also indicates that news of the Third World dominated international articles in both publications during and after the Cold War, followed by First World-related articles. Despite this constancy from the 1977 to 1997 study periods, further studies may reveal a shift in how First and Third World news is being framed in the post-Cold War era.

Although Third World news was the most common in both the 1977 and 1997 study periods, first World news ranked much higher than the other geopolitical categories when it came to business section placement. This is not surprising, considering that many international business and financial article datelines revealed in the study included locations such as Paris, London, Switzerland and Tokyo. With major business and financial centers of the world located mainly in developed Western nations, it stands to reason that international business news would tend to have a First World focus, during and after the Cold War.

Despite the apparent differences in the way the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic* cover the world, the data from this study reinforces the current literature that indicates that Americans are receiving less international news than they did during the Cold War. To compound the

reduction in international news, the data from this study also indicates a shift in international news from the front page deeper into the publications examined.

While this pilot study offers a snapshot view of the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic* during two composite weeks in 1977 and 1997, it could provide a foundation for further studies. Additional longitudinal studies could reveal trends in international news coverage over a span of years from the Cold War to the post-Cold War era.

Additionally, identical studies of publications other than the *New York Times* and the *Arizona Republic* could provide valuable data that indicates similarities and differences in how other newspapers are reporting international news in the post-Cold War era.

The absence of the Cold War does not mean that Americans need less international news. The results of this study should raise at least two questions in newspaper editors minds about the window on the world they are providing their readers in the post-Cold War era: 1) Are they moving toward more community-oriented journalism that places less priority on news from other parts of the world? and 2) Without a Cold War frame, are they ignoring important international news that readers need to know? Despite the loss of a Cold War news frame that editors relied on for more than 40 years, Americans continue to need to know about

the world that exists outside their immediate communities. If the pipeline of international news is slowing being closed off to the American public, the time is now to step back and re-evaluate our society's need for world news and how the media can strike a balance that meets that need.

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Appendix

Coding Instrument:
New York Times & Arizona Republic

CODING SHEET

International News Articles in the *New York Times*

Date: _____ 1977 1997

Headline: _____

Dateline: _____

Length: _____

Page: _____

Geopolitical Focus: 1st 2nd 3rd

Mexico: Yes No

CODING SHEET

International News Articles in the *Arizona Republic*

Date: _____ 1977 1997

Headline: _____

Dateline: _____

Length: _____

Page: _____

Geopolitical Focus: 1st 2nd 3rd

Mexico: Yes No